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Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow."

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced:

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters."

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

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159 212 875 • 876 *another book that added to the letters I knew. He saw that I was doing well. I began to read out loud, and he listened to see if I read well. Then he heard that I did well, and he gave me another letter to learn. Then he gave me another book, to take to my house.*

["Was he a good teacher?" I asked.]

He beat us if we didn't do the letters well. He would pull my ear and he scolded very much. I began to make the letters better, and I was writing when the schoolmaster left.

A third schoolmaster came and taught in the pueblo. He was named Carmen Urban. We received him. I learned a little more writing. Now when he asked me a letter, I could reply. He saw that I knew all the letters, and he gave me another notebook. I began to write with a pen. With the pen my writing came out well. He saw that it was good and gave me another book. After I finished all that was in the book, he took another writing book out. He told me that I read all the letters well. He gave me a fourth book and a piece of paper. It was a very fine book! But this schoolmaster stayed only three months. Then he left. I did not continue in school since my mother said I should continue to learn only until I know all the letters.

She said, "You are an orphan since you don't have a father. You eat by my strength only. Now that you know your letters well, I want to see how well you can help me because I alone am buying corn and you are only eating it. Now that you know everything, you don't have to go to school because you must accompany me in looking for corn."

She saw that I was too big to stay in the school. She went to talk with the schoolmaster to tell him that I could not return. She told the schoolmaster, "See before your eyes that Ceferino has no father. It is for this that I want him to accompany me looking for corn." The schoolmaster said that I could not go out because I was now learning well. But my mother began to cry before the eyes of the schoolmaster and the president. He lowered his heart and said, "Well, take him then."

I left then. My mother heard and went happily because her boy had come out. When I came out I said "Thank you" to the schoolmaster. He said, "Now you know and go. Don't forget your letters. Take this book, and go on reading in order not to forget." I began to copy all the letters in the book so that I would learn some.

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Despite the beating and the scolding, Ceferino recognized that the schoolteachers cared, and this inspired him to learn. He learned to write without any knowledge of the meaning of the words in his first year of schooling, but this did not discourage him. He was among the first four literate Indians in the community.

The program of education for primary schools today is scheduled by the Secretary of Public Education in Mexico City. The teachers conform to this as best they can in the overcrowded, understaffed conditions. The first-year program, according to the book, includes, in addition to reading and math, health studies—basic knowledge of nutrition, social and personal hygiene, the study of the healthful environment, the prevention of diseases and accidents, and first aid. The second-year course includes the study of nature—the sky, earth, seasons, the various changes in the moon, and conservation of natural resources. In the third year of their training the children learn about social life—the child in the home, school, community, and nation. The fourth year includes creative activities—games and artistic expression through learning to play musical instruments and the formation of orchestras, for example. The fifth year teaches practical activities—the construction of toys, work in gardens and other agricultural projects, and the economics of the home; and the program during the sixth year stresses the study of the national language, arithmetic, and geometry. Each of these six sections has a list of the knowledge, habits, abilities, and attitudes the teacher should have formed in the children by the time they have finished the year. The lists become more detailed with each passing year. The amount of material the teacher is expected to cover is impressive.

Mary Marshall's observation of classroom behavior (Appendix 3B) suggests some of the complexities of communicating this standard program in a class of first-year pupils. Inside the schoolroom almost all behavior is initiated and controlled by the teacher. All communication within the school is in Spanish—the teacher ignores responses other than those in Spanish—although most of the children understand no Spanish when they enter school. The regular pattern of question and response is sometimes broken up by demonstration of objects. The children's response is greater when the teacher reverses the pupil-schoolteacher role and lets them ask the questions she tells them. The scarcity of materials imposes a greater bur-

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den on the teacher already laboring with the barrier in communication. Despite these difficulties, the children manage to learn the basics of reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish in four years of schooling. The teachers are devoted and spend at least seven hours in the classroom each day.

During the recess period the children play individual competitive games except when organized games are introduced by one of the teachers. There is a tendency toward ganging up on weaker individuals in fights, that occur, but I have never seen signs of marked brutality. Since the Ladino children are a small minority in the school (there are no more than a half a dozen among the three hundred and twenty-four students) the Indian children do not face the discrimination found in schools with a greater proportion of Ladinos (cf. Romney and Romney 1966).

Discipline is no longer as strict as it was in the early years of public education. The teacher allows someone who has been hit to hit the aggressor but does not herself intercede. Threat of punishment may be made by the teacher, but I have never seen it carried out, and it is never suggested as a solution to failure to learn.

In comparing the domestic, civil, and religious domains of activities, the following features emerge:

1. In each domain, a hierarchy of power is present. In the house, males take precedence over females, and older members over younger. In the cabildo, the power hierarchy takes the form of a rank order coordinate with age in most of the offices, while in the schoolhouse, power is polarized with all authority vested in the schoolteacher. In the church, the conflict between the priest and the cofrades (Chapter 9) has not been resolved. Within the ranks of the mayordomos, relationships between the elder and junior mayordomo establish a graded ranking system (Chapter 8).

2. Behavior in each domain is standardized. Relative rank is reflected in seating order, greeting order, and drinking order. Autonomous behavior is most marked in the domain of the church. Focused interaction is predominant in the school, where order and control are based on absorbing the attention of the child in a learning task.

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11:30 The mayordomos ring the bells again. A man says it is twelve o'clock. 78 126

12:00 They go home, leaving the door open and the church empty.

B. Observation in the School

Morning

The schoolrooms are exceedingly crowded with three hundred and fifty children in four rooms and an open porch. The babble of the children's voices reciting their lessons drowns out the voice of the teacher, who has to shout to draw their attention to a new lesson. 876 • 126

All the teaching is done in Spanish. On one occasion, when no one in the class understood what was said, the teacher asked a little boy to translate for her. When she talks, usually about only half or three-quarters of the class pays attention. When the children are singing, all but two or three students participate. [191]

In taking roll, the teacher calls the boys' names first. This order is reversed when the children leave the classroom, with the girls going first. Seating order on the long benches set before tables is not segregated by sex, although there is some clustering.

In teaching the children to read, the teacher writes the vowels on the blackboard in alphabetical order. The children are asked to repeat them after her. She does this seven or eight times. She has a number of the children come up and use the pointer to indicate certain vowels while the rest of the children repeat their names. She leads them in singing the song she has taught them before about the vowels. She mixes up the order of the vowels, pointing to them and asking the children to name them. She asks how many there are and writes a number under each vowel. She drills the class in the names of the vowels and the corresponding numbers for about five minutes more. Using sticks (the majority of the children have five sticks which they carry in their bags, and those who don't use their fingers) she leads them in practicing their numbers up to ten. She asks for volunteers to count from one to ten. When a child falters, she repeats the numbers with him.

The teacher uses a doll to teach the children parts of the body, giving the name in Spanish first, and afterward asking, "What do you call this?" She takes the doll to small groups of children sitting at their desks and lets them handle it. They show much interest, crowding around the doll. She then shows

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• 876 126 them a mirror, tells them what it is called, and lets the children look at themselves in it. About one-fourth of the class responds. She pastes a picture on the blackboard of a man carrying a valise accompanied by a dog and a boy. She asks what each object is called in Spanish and practices the name of the object with the whole class. Visual aids are pictures cut from coloring books or magazines, things she draws on the board, as well as articles from a box stored in her desk including a comb, mirror, glass, flag, color wheel, cut-outs of a boy, girl, chair, table, bear, soldier, flower, and leaf. After practicing the names of each, she stands in the back of the room and tells different children to bring the various objects to her. After drawing two ducks on the board and getting no reaction from the children when she asks them the name, she tells them and then leads them in practicing it.

She asks them the name of the town, of the school director, of the school, and when they fail to respond, she tells them and has them repeat the words over and over.

She leads the class in about five different songs she has taught them. The number of children who know the songs varies from one-fourth to three-fourths, with about one-fifth never singing. Some attempt a word every once in a while. She sings the elephant song, which most of them know and which utilizes their knowledge of numbers from one to five. Twice, when a few children begin to sing on their own initiative, she tells them to be quiet. She asks them, "Do you like to sing?" and all respond, "Yes, teacher."

The teacher seldom smiles at the children. As they leave the room in single file, she rebukes any who attempt to run out or pair with another.

[157] *Recess.* Two boys are fighting and three others join with one of them. The one who has been ganged up on finally gets away, and they do not chase him. Boys around ten years old play keep-away with a ball on their own initiative. There isn't much teamwork. Often one boy will get the ball and run with it, the other boys after him. Finally he will throw it to someone or someone will take it away from him. The girls sit in groups, sometimes embroidering or knitting. Some boys just stand by watching those who are playing.

In the classroom after recess. The teacher shows the color wheel and asks the names of the colors to which she points. A couple of girls put their hands in their ears while the class is reciting. When the teacher asks for a volunteer to hold the color wheel in the demonstration, approximately twenty out of the fifty-four children raise their hands. One little boy in the back pays

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no attention; he was one who had sat by himself on the bandstand at recess.

They practice counting from one to five. The teacher then writes the numbers on the blackboard with A E I O U written above them. They practice these for about five minutes. She says them first; they repeat. She then picks a child to point to them, and the class repeats after the child. More children pay attention when the child is directing the class. She has ten volunteers for this job. They use sticks when counting to ten, passing them from one hand to the other. A few are doing it right. Although some count correctly, they do not have the right number of sticks correlated with the number spoken. They proceed to copy pictures the teacher has drawn on the board. The teacher asks one girl why she isn't drawing. The girl says she has no pencil. The teacher says nothing and goes on down the aisle.

The children are dismissed from class and line up, each grade together, in front of the school; the teacher tells them to be sure to come that afternoon or she will punish them tomorrow.

Afternoon

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The teacher comes in to say a few words to the children (for my benefit, I suppose). She calls up one little girl and reprimands her in front of the group for coming to school with her hair uncombed and with dirty clothes. The child is frightened and hesitant about coming forward, and the teacher shows more impatience. The child's head is cast down all the time her teacher speaks to her.

Vowel practice is resumed. The children are told to erase the vowels they have written in their books and write them over. The teacher has each of the aisles recite the vowels in turn. She asks which of the aisles is best. There is no response from the children; she never says which is best.

Two little boys are writing numbers in their books while some of the others are reciting. The teacher takes the pencils out of their hands and puts them on the table. They pick them up when she is no longer looking and continue writing. A little girl begins to cry. She says, when the teacher asks why she is crying, that the boy in front of her hit her. The teacher tells her to hit him back, which she proceeds to do. The boy shows no reaction at all.

They drill about twenty minutes. A few leaders answer while the rest chime in. "Take out pencil and notebook," the teacher orders. About two-thirds respond. She asks them what things there are in the plaza. One little boys replies, "C'ulna" (Tzetal for church). She ignores him and names in Spanish the

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buildings in the plaza. She then draws two men and three pieces of fruit. She stands and watches as the children draw the figures in their notebooks. Many of them show each other what they have drawn. One little boy draws a bus, with seats inside and people sitting in them.

She shows them a cut-out of a chair. The first time she asks them what it is, a few answer "bear," a word they had been practicing before. She asks one child who responds correctly. They practice the word "chair." They practice the difference between *niño* and *niña* (boy and girl). She uses cut-outs of a boy and girl in western dress. Two make mistakes when she asks them to state which is niña and which niño; four get it correctly after they have practiced. She shows a picture of a boy with a train. "What is he doing?" she asks. *"Jugánding"* (playing) replies one. The teacher teaches them *"está jugando."*

Some are writing, some looking out the door; others talk in small groups. The majority are watching the teacher as she talks and demonstrates different objects and says their names. They know door and window when she points to these and asks them to name them. She now puts all the visual-aid objects on the table and tells various individuals to bring them to her when she asks for a specific object. "Chair, niño, niña," "Bear," "Soldier," "What thing is lacking yet?" The children answer, "A table." The teacher sends a child to get it. They seem to like this game. There are volunteers to go and get things. They know the objects and so are sure they can bring the correct ones.

The children tend to kneel on the benches, which are high for the smaller ones. The teacher is continually telling them to sit down. A couple of little girls begin to sing. She reproves them and when they continue, she says to them, "Do you remember the animals?" "Yes, teacher," they chorus. "What animal would you like me to draw on the board?" Finally, one boy says, "Chicken." After she has drawn the chicken, the students copy it. She goes around the class and puts a line through the drawing if she approves of it. She finds all of them satisfactory.

The teacher next shows the students a flag, which they are to draw in their notebooks. A bigger girl helps a small boy. The Teacher then asks who knows the recitation about the flag. Three students raise their hands, and sing a song about the flag. Three girls in the back are still drawing in their notebooks. They spend a lot of time erasing so they can use their notebooks over again.

One little girl helps a little boy who has no pencil draw his picture. Another little boy does not draw for the same reason, but when he tells the teacher his problem she does not respond.

She draws pictures around vowels and doesn't explain them to the children,

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simply telling them to copy the drawings in their notebooks. Their drawings seem to show that they have not seen the connection with the vowels.

She then sings a song that has accompanying gestures (points to stars, hands covering face, hands under head as when sleeping, and so on). A few students seem to know when to do what and understand the words; most of the others copy them.

At four-thirty the classroom teacher tells the children to line up in single file, girls first. She shouts, "No!" as some attempt to run out together. As they line up, each grade together in front of the school, the schoolteacher tells them to be sure to come the next day or she will punish them.